[117 cont.] Strips of
283 rattan serve for lashings (8), or, for finer work, plaited or twisted

8. Dalrymple, pp. 89, 193.

rope and strings of coconut and other plant fibers (Fig. 47, Nos. 1 and 2). The twisting of the string is done on the upper thigh
413 with the ball of the right thumb (9). As a special tool, probably

9. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 86.

used in preparing [118] [Fig. 46 appears here] atap for roof
[237] coverings, the needles of pigs' ribs must be mentioned (Fig. 47,
396 No. 3) (1). Boat-building, as everywhere in Polynesia, is a craft
461

1. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 3. Berlin VI 16002. It is not wholly improbable that the needles are used for the embroidery of the plaited bags; cf. pp. 101 f.

that is particularly respected. In Vanikoro a chief was a famous boat-builder -- Gaimard, however, also gives evidence that the boat-builders had no perseverance and very often rested (2) --

2. Cf. p. 81. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 334.

396
● [420] and on Ndeni the craft was hereditary in certain families. By washing the hand of his son with water, the artist transmits his skill to his heir before his death. The completion of a boat is therefore connected with certain formalities, for example the builder must row the new boat out to sea and then let it be tossed
[784] about on the breakers so that the spirit of the place where the tree was felled is driven away. He also believes that this will keep evil influences away from the ax that was used for the work (3).

3. O'Ferrall in J.A.I., XXXIV, p. 225.

574 [146 cont.]
609 much as his servant and the natives. In Nufiloli hot breadfruit
[262] and yams were served while the most respected natives sat around.
Coote was later also received in the chief's house and was again
576 served breadfruit there (3). On Taumako, Quiros mentions the

3. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 327f., 335ff., 343 (in Nama Gaimard slept in the chief's house, but this can scarcely be regarded as normal). Coote, p. 154.

embrace as a gesture of greeting. Joest, on Ndeni, mentions nose-rubbing, also on hand and foot; otherwise, according to him, the only greeting is a kind of grin upon meeting. Upon departure, the native at most says: "I am going now" (4).

4. Dalrymple, p. 128. Joest in Baessler, p. 392.

763 When a man feels that his end is near, he divides his
[428] personal belongings so that a part goes to his son, a part to his brother, and a part to other relatives (5). On the southern

5. O'Ferrall, p. 223. According to Codrington, p. 63, the nephew usually inherits, more rarely the sons, but this probably applies at most to the Reef Islands where mother-right prevails.

islands, Te Mami, Utupua, and Vanikoro, if death is slow in coming, the dying person is taken into the spirit house in order
000 to hasten death (6). On the day of death, the members of the

6. O'Ferrall, p. 230.

438 canoe building, weaving, the manufac-
463 turing of bark cloth, tools and orna-
ments—and currency making—are in-
digenous to one or another small island
or to one village on an island. Each
of these specialized industries and crafts
is regarded by its practitioners as a right
[428] inherited in the family line, and only
individuals in the proper line of suc-
cession may manufacture currency, go
shark fishing, build canoes or follow any
other trade.

438 This primitive division of labor re-
quires in many instances that raw or
semiprocessed materials be brought
from one district or island to another,
where the goods are finished for local
consumption or for export. In the busy
437 commerce of the interisland economy
goods are rarely bartered. They are sold
for currency: feather money or, increas-
ingly, Australian currency. For all who
participate the motivation of this trade
goes beyond the exchange of necessities
and native luxuries; the islanders buy
and sell for the express purpose of mak-
ing money. The accumulation of money
556 is the way to prestige. But since the cur-
rency itself is perishable, prestige finds
its tangible expression in spending as
well as in accumulation, above all in
helping to buy brides for members of
one's family and friends and in giving
[642] feasts. Prestige won in these ways is the
source of political power and authority.

436 The red-feather currency is made only
[438] on Santa Cruz Island. It is made on
[675] contract for a specific purchaser, who
negotiates individually with the three
different hereditary specialists whose
combined skills are required for its
[463] manufacture. The first specialist snares
the little jungle bird whose down sup-

438 1 EXPORTERS OF WOMEN
102 2 NAVIGATORS AND TRADERS
3 ARBORICULTURE
4 PIG BREEDING
5 SHARK FISHING
6 SPECIALIZED CRAFTS
7 TARO GROWING

——— RED-FEATHER CURRENCY
——— WOMEN [W]
——— GOODS AND PRODUCE
O FEATHERS AND SHINGLES
• CURRENCY BINDING

438 certain districts of Santa Cruz Island, cir-
culates there and in the Reefs and Duffs.

[p97 (A)]

4: Davenport E-5 (1958-1960) 1961 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

## WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]



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